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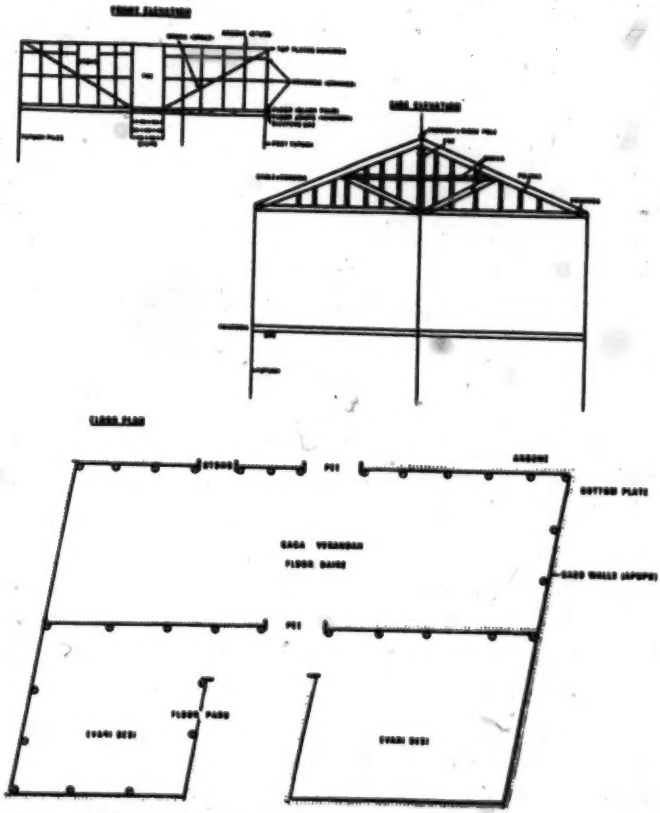

Fig. 3. Construction of a modern Orokaiva house.

(*haruu*) in the heat of the day, and sometimes sleep there at night. Yams are stored under the roof. 343

Plastic Arts. As Mauss (1967: 96) has suggested, the best starting point in the description of plastic arts is the decoration of the body. Even though the elaborate hair dressings described by Williams are no longer seen for everyday wear, every opportunity is taken to decorate the hair in some way, especially with a few feathers. It is at the ceremonial dances that the full range of body decoration is seen: face painting, feather head-dresses, ornaments. The latter are worn on the forehead, held in the teeth, suspended from ears and nose, as necklets and as armlets. 302 301

292 531 The head-dresses (*dī*) and ornaments (*hambo*) are themselves artistic creations. A full feather head-dress is composed of some two dozen strands of feathers, each strand consisting of a dozen or more feathers. The strands are carefully made, sometimes from artistically shaped and trimmed feathers, while short down of striking colours may be tied to the tips of feathers. The order and arrangement of the strands making up the headdress is to some extent determined by custom but mainly by the artistic sense of the decorator, who 301 531 may spend days working out the precise effect he wants. Similarly the *hambo* are often composed of a variety of objects – dog's teeth, shells, pieces of crocodile skin, a special kind of banana seed, for instance. The decorator aims at a pleasing design but is always aware of the effect of the total object as body [778] decoration in relation to the skin, face and body of the wearer. While the objects themselves undoubtedly have magical significance, and much might be discovered about the symbolism of *dī* and *hambo*, my informants were far more interested in talking to me about the aesthetics rather than the occult significance of these decorations. I surmise that the magical efficacy is actually thought to inhere in the beauty of these objects rather than in the specific qualities of component parts. Women are as lavishly decorated as men. Though some *hambo* are reserved for males only and others are characteristically female, decorations are usually interchangeable between the sexes.

796 533 535 *Music, Dance and Song.* Today the great occasions when body decoration is performed mainly coincide with Christian festivals – Christmas, Easter, and name days of saints. But these dates tend to be close to the festive periods in the traditional Orokaiva calendar. For instance, Easter occurs around the beginning of the traditional feasting season, while Christmas is close to the rituals performed to stimulate the filling out of the taro tubers planted in the period before the rains. It is on these great occasions that the major dance cycles are performed, accompanied by entirely traditional songs and drum music. But 'practising' for these performances proceeds for months before and after Christmas, and again between Easter and the end of June. In Lent, all this is strictly prohibited, for reasons that again go back to taro magic. At any time of the year but this, one hears almost every able-bodied male in the village, from the age of two upwards, practising the dance, with or without the accompaniment of songs, while every village has its original poets who compose new songs every year. Dance 'practices' occur rather frequently, about four times a week in the two months or so before a performance. They tend to start in the early evening and continue until after midnight. Some of the dancers wear a few decorations when practising. But these 'practices' occur only if a large group can be mustered.

535 The Orokaiva mostly dance in pairs one behind the other, forming double file. The pairs always consist of persons of the same sex, men or women, who form more or less permanent partnerships. The dances themselves are described in some detail by Williams (1930: Ch. XIV), whose useful account would be even more valuable if he had not attempted to make up some kind of synthesis of the dance and drama of three somewhat different tribes (Orokaiva, Aiga, Binandere).

In Sivepe there were two dance leaders, one from each of the major clans, who danced as partners. They had the final say about the programme; their body

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improper to eat meat without introducing some element of gift exchange, very much like 'party food' in our own society.

In general, people take any wood they need from their own land. The only record I have of transactions involving wood concerns the obtaining of less common building materials for houses. My informants made a clear distinction between gifts of bush trees and gifts of sago. The former kind create no specific debt but whenever sago is taken a return gift is expected, because, I was told, sago is a cultivated plant.

With regard to feathers and *hambo*, attitudes differ as between areas where raw materials are plentiful and areas where they are rare. On the Mount Lamington foothills they seldom enter the exchange network – perhaps once a generation, during a ceremony of uncommon importance. On the alluvial plains, they are a frequent trade item.[8] Of other items of traditional trade, betelnuts and lime are the most important. Betelnut grows only on the foothills; lime is made of shells collected on the seashore. It was, and is, therefore common to exchange one for the other, as betelnut can be chewed only together with lime and betelnut chewing is as popular a social activity among the Orokaiva as it is throughout New Guinea and Indonesia. A peppery plant called *hingi* (piper betel) is always chewed with the other two ingredients. This again grows best on the hills, so that it is often exchanged with the betelnuts. The alluvial plains are in a poor bargaining position with regard to the betelnut complex as they produce none of the ingredients from their own land. It may be partly for this reason that they are accustomed to accumulating animal products and to using these as objects of trade.

By far the largest number of exchanges take place within a village, only a minority of transactions occurring between members of different village

TABLE II/7

ACQUISITION OF 'HAMBO' AND 'DI'
(*Source*: Crocombe and Hogbin 1963: 51; Rimoldi 1966: 80)

	Sivepe		*Inonda*	
	Hambo	*Di*	*Hambo*	*Di*
Inheritance, cash value ($)	48.40	17.60	18.60	5.70
Percentage	53%	40%	17%	12%
Cash Purchase, value ($)	9.30	4.50	36.10	2.00
Percentage	10%	10%	33%	4%
Bride price or other exchanges, value ($)	17.70	6.50	48.30	17.90
Percentage	19%	14%	44%	38%
Made or caught, value ($)	16.60	15.40	5.90	21.10
Percentage	18%	35%	5%	45%
Total, value: ($)	92.00	44.00	108.90	46.70

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CHAPTER IX

ORNAMENTS

1. *Introduction*

Exchanges mediated by ornaments may be studied in very much the same way as those mediated by coconut and betelnut. This means that (1) ornaments may serve as symbols of identity; (2) this symbolic quality attached to ornaments makes them suitable to serve as objects of mediation.

A symbol of identity, in the sense intended here, is an object which, if shown or given to another person, reveals the identity of its owner. A plant emblem is, in this sense, a symbol of identity, as anyone who sees it lying on the path knows the identity of the person who put it there. More specifically, the finder of the plant emblem knows that the person who dropped it is a member of a specific group which has the right to use this emblem and which is identified with it. Identity, in this instance,[1] is not defined as attached to an individual but rather as attached to a class, and the individual who uses the plant emblem is stating his membership of that class. Furthermore, identity in this sense must always have been *received from* someone. Membership in a plant emblem group is conferred by a father or mother. It is not a gift but an automatic result of filiation. As such it is symbolic of the system of rules governing co-operation within the corporate group.

An ornament may be ceremonially conferred upon a person who will henceforth regard it, in the same sense, as a symbol of identity. The ornament is then called an *otohu*, a term to be defined later. It is worn by its owner and those who see it recognise it as a symbol of its owner's moral integrity. It indicates that the owner has pledged to act in accordance with a historically established behaviour model. Therefore, in this instance again, identity is not defined as attached to an individual but rather as attached to a class of persons who follow this behaviour model. Furthermore, again, identity in this sense must always have been received from someone. It is not conferred necessarily by the wearer's father, but may come from any other male consanguine (or even affine) of the ascending generation. It is not conferred automatically; there is no rule saying that it should be conferred and it is not conferred upon everyone. The *otohu* is, in fact, always a gift. As such it is symbolic of a pledge made by the wearer that he regards himself as bound by the system of rules governing exchange between other corporate groups and his own.

Although it is usual for persons to own more than one ornament, I have not heard of any owning more than one *otohu*. The *otohu* is distinguished from other ornaments (*hambo*) by the addition of some special feature which constitutes its mark of identity. *Otohu* are not given away except in special

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ceremonial circumstances, but *hambo* are freely exchanged between partners. All the characteristics already described of such objects of mediation as land, taro and pigs probably apply equally to *hambo*, though my evidence on this point is far less complete, due to the very large number of magical substances that enter into the construction of *hambo*. They are not, however, symbols of identity.

On a functional level, one may regard the *otohu* after the analogy of a membership badge to some association or even a credit card. It indicates to others that they can safely carry on transactions with the bearer. On a structural level, the two types of identity symbol – the plant emblem or *hae* and the *otohu* – constitute, in combination and in their interrelation, the reality of the entire Orokaiva social system. This system is dominated by two principles: corporate groups bound to a system of rules governing their co-operation and a system of exchange between corporate groups on which they depend for vital benefits. The *hae* symbolises membership of the corporate group whereas the *otohu* symbolises participation in the system of exchange. There are several significant symbolic contrasts: the *hae* is a natural object (usually a plant), never given or lent to anyone, deposited as a sign to members of the corporate group that corporate rights have been used by the depositor, but never openly shown except to signal anger felt towards members of the corporate group and a resolve to break the relationship. In contrast the *otohu* is a cultural object, lent to relatives who are entitled to wear it, but otherwise never deposited or transferred, and always shown conspicuously by the owner when he contemplates transactions outside the corporate group.

While a *hae* is transmitted automatically, the conferring of the *otohu* is an important ceremony that will be discussed in detail in this chapter. This discussion will be followed by a summary of the available evidence on the use of *hambo* (other than *otohu*) as objects of mediation in social exchange.

2. *The Nature of Otohu Ornaments*

Most ornaments are acquired by hunting, foraging, barter, purchase or inheritance. These may be regarded purely as decorations (*di* or *hambo*) and there are no restrictions on who may make or wear such ornaments, which are freely disposed of by barter or sale. The *otohu* is not distinguishable from other *hambo* except on the basis of specific knowledge of local practice. Some families have a particular shell which is their *otohu*, others may use a particular arrangement of hornbill beaks. Others again may have a special way of decorating armlets of white cuscus (*pauri*). There are many very beautiful and elaborate *hambo* which are not *otohu* and other much simpler ornaments which are *otohu*. Where large shells are *otohu* these are worn by themselves, on the chest or suspended on the side of the owner's betelnut bag. Other *otohu* are added to what would otherwise be an ordinary *hambo*: it is the addition of the *otohu* object which makes a *hambo* into an *otohu*.

In the earliest literature on the *otohu* it was regarded as an 'homicidal emblem'. Beaver (1920) reported that a man-slayer, having undergone some form of purification or exorcism, might at some convenient time receive his *otohu*. He gave two lists of objects that were supposedly so used, one for the coastal and central tribes (eight items) and one for the Wasida and trans-Kumusi

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tribes (twelve items), including in his list many *hambo* still in common use. Williams (1930) criticised this account on two grounds: some kinds of *otohu* were regularly conferred upon boys and girls at initiation before they had killed anyone, and most of the items listed by Beaver were in fact conferred on such occasions. While Williams did not rule out the use of homicidal emblems, he thought they should be called *esa* rather than *otohu* and provided a short list of such *esa*, i.e. ornaments given exclusively to man-slayers or to men who had slain a wild pig and presented it to the donor of the *esa*.

Williams reserves the term *otohu* for ritual objects used as symbols for ethical notions central to the Orokaiva world view. He thinks that the *otohu* is best understood in the context of boys' and girls' initiation, as conferment most often occurs at the conclusion of initiation ceremonies. In this chapter I shall first summarise Williams' description of the transfer of *otohu* in initiation, and proceed to add some new information which may lead to a clearer understanding of the nature of the *otohu*.

3. *Williams' Account of the Conferment of Otohu*

Orokaiva initiation ceremonies include four main rituals which are, as Williams reports, not always performed in the same order, but the one ceremony he witnessed occurred in the same order as those described to me by informants:

(1) First, initiands are kept in seclusion for some months. Living in a separate house in semi-darkness, they are well-fed, kept warm with a fire, but must not wash. Williams rightly discounts Chinnery and Beaver's account (1915) that initiands are given detailed instruction of a moral nature at this stage. This was denied by my own informants who had themselves been initiated.

(2) A nocturnal dance occurs during which spirits (*embahi*) appear from the bush, assail and frighten the initiands, but are driven off by the initiands' relatives. Chinnery and Beaver (1915) plausibly suggest that this ferocious scene serves the function of instilling 'absolute and lasting terror in the candidates', of obligating them to their relatives who saved them, and of inducing in them 'a receptive and chastened frame of mind' for the instruction that is to follow. The scene is graphically described by Williams.

(3) The next morning initiands are, for the first time in their lives, dressed up in full dancing regalia, after which they make an impressive début at the village dancing ground. The ritual is known as *kogumbari*. It is performed by an expert whose main concern seems to be with the aesthetics of dressing up, and who lends the initiands feathers and ornaments from his own large store. He stands in no particular kin relationship to the initiand and may even be from a different village. (Fathers are excluded.)

(4) If there is a presentation of *otohu* to initiates[2] this is not part of the initiation ritual as such, which occurs immediately after *kogumbari*. The dressed up initiates are 'shown to the people' and take part in a dance called *kuru*, which is described by Williams (1930: 188). The presentation follows this dance.

It begins with a series of speeches by old warriors (*aguma*) who recite their feats of war, their killing of victims. Initiates sit on a row of sticks laid on the ground ('lest through contact with the ground they run the risk of physical deformity'). The donor of the *otohu* (most often the father or mother's brother)

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then takes up a position behind the initiate while the *aguma*, standing in front of him, teases him by pretending to offer him the *otohu*. When the initiate stretches out to receive it, the *aguma* snatches it back again. It is tossed over the initiate's head to the man behind him, or to spectators or from one spectator to another. Williams reports:

> It is properly at this stage, while the initiate is waiting to receive his ornament, that the *aguma* lays upon him certain injunctions of an ethical character. These are always associated with the *otohu* and, as we shall see, they throw some light on the obscure meaning of the word. As he proffers and withdraws the ornament, the officiating *aguma* exhorts the candidate to refrain from thieving, from adultery, from quarrelling and from such lawless acts as killing a neighbour's dog. (1930: 191)

After describing the ceremony of presentation, Williams turns to the explanation of the word *otohu*. *Otohu*, he says, tend to be regarded as rather beautiful objects but embody a social distinction as well. The wearing of an *otohu* 'implies that the owner has paid a pig (if he acquired it in adulthood), or that it has been paid on his behalf, and thus the ornament has been formally and regularly acquired' (*ibid.* 203). Sometimes the *otohu* is acquired in return for the body of a man, rather than a pig, but Williams finds (unlike Beaver 1920)

> no very essential difference between the 'pig *otohu*' and the 'man *otohu*'. They are of the same nature, but one is bought with the body of a pig and the other with that of a human victim. . . .
> It would appear that the homicidal *otohu* or *esa* was less an *insigne* conferred, *honoris causa*, upon the man-killer as such, than an ordinary *otohu* purchased with the body of his victim. (*ibid.*)

Williams saw that his theory brought him into conflict not only with Beaver's explanation, but also with apparently obvious implications of the ritual of conferment. Why did the *aguma* always recite his own past killings? Does not this indicate an association between *otohu* and man-slaying?

Instead of elucidating this, Williams turns to interesting data on the usages of the word *otohu*. As an adjective, it means: well-behaved, decent, diligent, generous, respectable, set apart, holy. 'An *otohu* man was he who went about his work quietly, who returned from his garden with wood on his shoulder and set it down, then chewed his betel without "rowing".' There is a direct connection, Williams remarks, between the virtues subsumed under the word *otohu* and the injunctions laid upon the initiate by the *aguma*. He concludes that the possession of an *otohu* creates a social obligation, namely to behave in the manner called *otohu*. As for the derivation of the word, Williams has no suggestions to offer except one interesting point: the Baruga, southern neighbours of the Orokaiva, have a word *kontopo* which is used in the sense of *otohu* but *also* in the sense of *hae*.[3] He wonders whether the *otohu*, 'originally', might have been a clan emblem (*ibid.* 206). In addition he reports, but gives no significance to, the fact that the larger of the two flutes used at initiation ceremonies is called *otohu*. The sacred flutes are always played in pairs by two men facing one another. One of the pair (the *otohu*) is larger than the other, which is called *e* (= mother).

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4. *Additional Data on* Otohu

Discouragement of initiation ritual by the Anglican mission and the consequent weakening of the institution greatly hampered me in obtaining the additional data needed to clarify Williams' account. Unable to attend any ceremonies, I had to depend almost entirely on interviews. Most adults still own *otohu*. The men usually receive them at initiation, the women either at initiation or, quite often, at the time of marriage. In about half the cases the father was the donor; in most other cases it was the mother's brother. One man who had been elected a member of the Higaturu Local Government Council, was honoured with an *otohu* by his wife's father.

With regard to initiation ritual, the seclusion of boys is no longer practised and the period of seclusion for girls tends to be much shorter than in earlier days. It is, however, rarely shorter than three weeks and sometimes still lasts for some months. The influence of the mission is given as the reason for the changes. When I asked why the modern custom for girls differs from that for boys, I was told that if girls were not secluded and subjected to the full ritual, they would be unable to control their menstrual flow; they would contaminate the village and sicken.

Kogumbari often occurs on the occasion of Christian festivals such as Easter, when the girls, fully dressed up, are 'shown to the people' during a dance on the mission ground. The white missionaries are unaware of the significance of the event. It appears that two ceremonies (puberty seclusion and initiation) to which adolescent girls used to be subjected have been reduced to one, which takes place upon the commencement of menstruation. *Otohu* are bestowed either then or upon marriage.

Boys receive their *otohu* at ceremonies which have become known as 'birthday parties', one of which is fully described by Crocombe (1966). The whole ceremony, including the conferral of *otohu*, usually occurs in a single weekend or at Christmas and a drinking party is sometimes given to the people by the father of the initiand. I never managed to attend one of these occasions but suspect that in many villages the ritual still involves the appearance of *embahi*. I have knowledge of one instance in a village close to Sivepe in 1967.

I was able to obtain additional data, relevant to the puzzle of the nature of the *otohu*, on two main topics: the role of the mother's brother and the role of the *aguma*. According to Orokaiva ideal norms, as stated to Williams (1930: 187) and myself, the mother's brother (*epe*) is the proper relative to perform initiation. This rule, like all others, is frequently broken, but it is worthy of mention that if there is no *epe* available to officiate, there is absolutely no preference for finding a uterine kinsman as a substitute: any other male consanguine is considered suitable, and in fact a father or father's brother often officiates. When Orokaiva informants were asked why mothers' brothers have this special relationship with their nephews, I was always told it is due to the love between the mother and her brother, in other words the *du* relationship. It is definitely not due to any special bond with the matrilineage or maternal patrilineage.

Bestowal of the *otohu* is only one of a series of ritual benefits customarily provided by the *epe*. These benefits take the form of medicines (*sivo*). A man

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604 789 receives certain essential medicines from his father (e.g. for hunting, for planting taro) but other medicines are acquired during adolescence from the person who performs initiation, i.e. ideally the *epe*. These medicines include: *he kovari sivo*, a medicine applied to taro leaves when the tubers have filled out and are ready for harvest; *kakara sivo*, a medicine for success in sex; and *saruka*, medicines for killing enemies. Though these presentations are entirely separate from the gift of an *otohu* they do indicate what spiritual capacities a man normally derives from his *epe*; the fact that these include the capacity to kill enemies helps us to understand more easily why killing is so strongly emphasised in the ritual of the bestowal of *otohu*.

881 301 604 Nobody has the *right* to receive an *otohu* nor does anyone have an obligation to confer it. It depends in theory on the *epe's* appraisal of the worth of the young initiand and especially on how the latter has behaved towards his/her *epe*. Has the initiand been co-operative, obedient, well-behaved? The questions are rather similar to those asked by Father Christmas. But, like Father Christmas, the *epe* has a prior commitment: to part with his treasure to *someone*: it is in the nature of the *otohu* to be passed on from generation to generation, and ideally it is passed on in the matriline.

881 301 577 [798] When I asked informants about the significance of *otohu*, their replies were in general very close to what Williams had reported: people respect their *otohu* as the concrete embodiment of the moral virtues they regard as most important in life. When I asked for the reasons for this respect, one informant answered: 'I received this *otohu* from my mother's brother who was a good man. My sister has a son now. I want to give this *otohu* to that boy when he has grown big. *That is what makes it otohu* (=holy).' We should note the emphasis the informant placed on the words 'I want to'. He invoked neither obligation nor 'custom' but rather a sense that his *otohu*, by virtue of its inner nature, was destined to be passed on to another initiate. My informant did not consider this a loss to himself, for he said: 'If I want another one, I can always make myself one.'

729 881 [266] The second ritual actor about whom I obtained additional data was the *aguma*. The rite of tantalising the initiate before giving him his *otohu* continues; the term I was given for this rite among the Sangara was *otohu pasari*, the verb *pasari* being also used for catching fish. I was also told about the *aguma's* recital of his war deeds, but this information came from middle-aged men. When these men were initiated, there were still old warriors who could claim a respectable score of killings, but by now most of these old warriors must have died out among the Orokaiva. Profound changes in male initiation ritual have coincided with the dying out of the genuine old cannibals: one might say that one reason why the institution of initiation has been transformed is the absence of persons with the traditional qualifications of the *aguma*. One difference between the modern 'birthday party' and traditional initiation is the greatly reduced emphasis on killing as a capacity bestowed on the initiand.

729 881 628 [754] *Aguma* were usually not from the same village as the initiands. They were generally invited from a village two or three miles distant. In Sivepe, villages such as Isoge and Kendata were quoted to me as suitable places from which to invite an *aguma*; for Hohorita initiations they might come from Bonge or Koipa. The total list of *aguma*-villages as given to me had a striking resemblance to another

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5. *The Message of the Sacred Flutes*

We are now in a position to analyse Williams' data on the *otohu*. Recent theoretical advances in anthropology help us to a fairly easy solution to the problem of the *otohu* by following up a clue Williams threw away as insignificant. Williams was actually very close to the solution I now propose. He recognised that the explanation of the *otohu* is to be found in the ritual of initiation. He also recognised that Chinnery's and Beaver's explanation of initiation, (viz. that it educates by showing initiands the terrifying power of the spirits), 'does not lay sufficient stress on the actual paraphernalia, viz. the bullroarers and flutes, which play a more important part in the ceremony than would appear' (1930: 195). Finally, Williams records (*ibid.*, 185) that in some localities such as Wasida, one of the duet of flutes is actually called *otohu* and the other *e* (= mother). Though this usage is only local, it nevertheless gives us a crucial insight into the significance of the word *otohu*.

Seeing that the Wasida people used the same word for the mental qualities known as *otohu* and the larger and lower-pitched of the pair of sacred flutes, it is useful to inquire whether some symbolic equivalence exists between these mental qualities and these objects. The question falls into two parts. First, we have to explain why there should be any association between a flute and a set of social virtues. Secondly, we have to explain why the flute called *otohu*, which is symbolically equivalent to a set of moral virtues, should be played in antiphony to another flute called *e*. As for the first question, Williams reports that these flutes are never seen but only heard by the uninitiated and that they are regarded as voices of the spirits or *embahi*. The initiated have seen the *embahi* and are allowed to see and play the sacred flutes. They have made the acquaintance of the world of primal ancestors who enunciated and established the moral rules of social behaviour. As children they were taught to obey these rules, but as initiates they have experienced a mystic unity with the deities who established them. The sacred flutes, being voices of the spirits, have communicated these rules in their spiritual essence. Now an *otohu embo* (a man of good character, ibid., p. 205) is a man who lives according to the message he has received from the sacred flutes. The connection between the flutes and the set of social virtues is therefore not difficult to establish.

Secondly, why should the flute called *otohu* be played in antiphony to a flute called *e*? To answer this question let us first recall that according to Williams' own evidence (*ibid.*, 185), the Orokaiva classify one of this pair of flutes – always the larger and lower-pitched one – as masculine and the other as feminine. If the latter is equated to 'mother', then what kinsman is associated with the masculine flute? It seems most plausible that the masculine flute should be symbolically equivalent to the mother's brother, as it is he who acts as initiator of the novice and is thus, on the social level, the mediator between the latter and the spirit world. He teaches the initiand to play the flutes, he gives him medicines which ensure success in adult roles, and finally he presents him with the ornament called *otohu*. The association here is clear enough, but see model 34 on p. 187.

Throughout the Orokaiva world we find the opposition of the male and female principle: between killing and nurture, bush and garden, victim and taro

A [See Category 431--Analyst]

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The mother and mother's brother, being the most harmonious, gentle and affectionate male/female couple known to the Orokaiva, are the most suited for the task of mediating between the fearsome spirit world and the human being. The two initiatory flutes are therefore identifed with them.

How are the *otohu* ornaments connected with (*a*) the moral qualities and (*b*) the flute of the same name? The first part of this question was answered convincingly by Williams, as we have seen. But how are *otohu* ornaments symbolically equivalent to flutes? It is relevant to recall the difference between the two identity symbols *otohu* and *hae*. Ideally, the latter is transmitted in the patriline, the former in the matriline. All other differences (e.g. that the *hae* is attached to the corporate group and the *otohu* to the exchange system) follow from the mode of transmission.

The common characteristic of initiation ceremony, sacred flutes and *otohu* ornaments is that they all ideally derive from uterine kin or, in any case, that they have no necessary connection with the clan. Initiation pries the novice loose from early over-attachment to the clan and confronts him with the more adventurous, less secure world of the exchange system (*mine*). This applies equally to girls and boys. The rigours of this new arena are very effectively dramatised by the *aguma* whose recital emphasises that it is meritorious for the *otohu embo* to kill enemies. The same message is conveyed in a different way by the mother's brother whose role includes the gift of black magic (*saruka*) to his nephew. The ornament, *saruka* and other presentations come to the nephew not of right, but in the form of *mine*, in exchange for help and obedience offered to the mother's brother and gifts made by the novice's family.

The existence of two identity symbols, *hae* and *otohu*, side by side, indicates the strong emphasis placed by Orokaiva culture upon social relationships outside the corporate group. Among the neighbouring Baruga, whose culture closely resembles the Orokaiva, but who are more strongly patrilineal, we find only one identity symbol, the *kotopo*, which serves both as *hae* (lineage emblem) and as *otohu* (honorific ornament). Initiation is here carried out by the clan, introduces the novice to full clan membership, but carries no implications for participation in a wider network.

The *otohu* flute is a voice from the spirit world, mediated through the mother's brother. This voice communicates a certain moral order. The initiand hears the flutes but at that time makes no response. If he is later presented with an *otohu* ornament, he must make pledges. The ornament, as it is thrown back and forth over his head, communicates the same message as the flute but this time the novice responds to the voice. It is thus that he makes the ornament into a symbol of his identity.

6 Otohu *and* Hambo *Compared*

There are many resemblances between *otohu* and other *hambo*. They are made from largely the same materials. They are all, together with *di* (feathers) made accessible to men and women at the time of initiation, as soon as they have seen the *embuhi*. Yet there are also many differences both in significance and in transactional custom. First of all, *otohu* may be worn on any important occasion, but *hambo* only during a dance or in other ceremonial contexts.

Hence, *otohu* might serve as symbols of high social status whereas *hambo* are less useful in this regard, being worn only intermittently and never with a purely social purpose in mind. 301 554

The usefulness of *otohu* as status symbols is further enhanced by the fact that they are transferable from generation to generation. The Member of the House of Assembly for the Northern District told me he always carried his *otohu* with him when meeting his constituents and that he would display it conspicuously attached to his betelnut bag, because a great many people would know this *otohu*: it had belonged to his *epe* who had been a famous war chief and sorcerer. He believed that people in his constituency had great respect for this *otohu*. He made it sound almost as though he was carrying the *insigne* of a hereditary chieftainship, but in fact the basis of his influence was far more complex: it was in part agnatic, in part uterine, and in large part personal. Nonetheless, the *otohu* was obviously very useful to him in establishing new social relations.

Whatever social effect a *hambo* might have would depend mostly on the beauty of its construction and the rarity of its materials. While informants might sometimes think its history and associations worthy of mention, a *hambo's* association with a particular family is usually rather loose, as the right to wear *hambo* of a particular type is never, to my knowledge, restricted to a family. The main effect and power of a *hambo* appears to be aesthetic. It is used to impress partners in a dispute, dancing partners or young women whose passions one hopes to arouse.

Unlike the *otohu*, the *hambo* does not otherwise emphasise the identity of the wearer. One the contrary, a fully decorated person, wearing a head-dress, *hambo* and face-paint, is supposed not to be recognisable as a person. One should on no account address him by name. He represents an *embahi* and, as such, is completely depersonalised. More specifically, the dancer represents a natural species – a pig, a wallaby or, in the case of women, a bird, a butterfly, a flower. The details of these identifications need to be studied more closely. The significance of the decorations is very similar to that of the masks used for dancing in other parts of New Guinea. The face and body become a medium for decorating: the individual assumes the persona of an ancestor; his private existence is covered over to display only his social function. 301 302 242 716 [825] [824]

This total lack of personal identity inherent in the *hambo* makes the object easily transferable from one individual to another. It always belongs essentially to the ancestors and is thus alive with spirit. By transferring it to another, a man emphasises that he and the recipient share some link with the spirit world and this implies amity, the primeval absence of strife. It also probably implies in some way the message of the sacred flutes by which man's contact with the spirit world is established. Further research no doubt will enable us to be more precise about the meaning of these transactions. They occur in a great many social contexts: *hambo* are given away to settle a quarrel, to pay bridewealth, to establish and maintain an important friendship. They are frequently lent to persons about to dance at a feast, and a gift of meat is then required from the borrower. They are lent by the *kogumbari* expert for a similar consideration, and are also bartered and sold. Some people, and not always the most prominent, make large collections of them, and most people of rank have a good store of them, as they are a necessary part of the ceremonial gift exchange system. From 301 431 556 425

5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Mountain Orokaiva

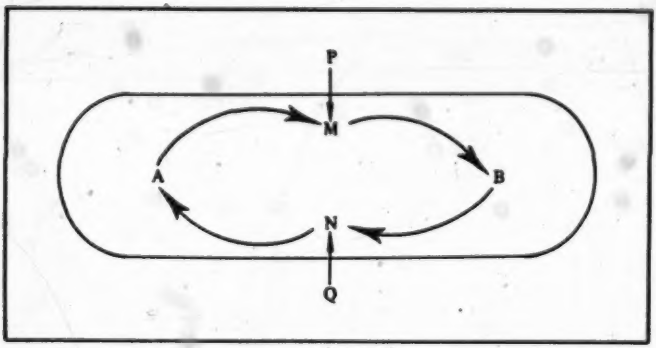
301 431 425 556 an economic standpoint, it is important that they represent storable wealth – the only storable wealth of the Orokaiva. Nearly every family today keeps *hambo* and feathers in a locked suitcase, thus elevating the suitcase into one of the most ubiquitous introduced elements of Orokaiva material culture.

The distinctive characteristic of the *hambo*, as compared with other objects of mediation considered here, lies in the type of social exchange that is mediated by means of *hambo* gifts. One might say that the partners are exchanging spirit participation. No doubt cultures vary in the extent to which individuals lend and give each other their private religious paraphernalia, i.e. the objects they use to achieve communion with their deities. In a society as exchange-oriented as the Orokaiva, where virtually everything is exchanged, there is clearly some special satisfaction in wearing someone else's *hambo*. Furthermore, a 'total presentation' such as bridewealth, which is intended to create a social relationship on a great many levels, must always include the sacral level represented by *hambo*.

7. *The Nature of Mediation*

431 121 In the last five chapters exchange has been discussed largely on the assumption that it occurs on two levels. First, it occurs on the mythico-religious level where exchange relations are stated in the form of binary oppositions or possibly also some other more complex structures. Among the examples discussed have been coconut/betelnut and the pair of initiatory flutes. Secondly, exchange occurs on the social level where each exchange partner subjectively views the other as transcendent and reachable only with the aid of some form of mediation. The belief in the magical efficacy of any given object of exchange is validated by notions deriving from the mythico-religious level. If A and B stand for exchange partners/objects of exchange, M and N for objects of mediation, and P and Q for relevant binary oppositions present on the mythico-religious level, we may represent our model of exchange as follows:

MODEL 33



5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Mountain Orokaiva

killed and eaten and is remembered as the demigod who made these gifts to mankind. When such gifts are made today it would seem that the donor is symbolically sacrificing himself to the recipients. The custom of giving clothes and cooking pots goes back to a myth where a woman is described as living alone and naked and without fire, so that she had to prepare her food by letting the sun burn it. Two men came, gave her a skirt, brought her fire and thus acted as her deliverers. These gifts, far from being 'equivalent' to a woman, are male gifts *for* a woman, and emphasise the blessings of the cultural institution of marriage. On the significance of ornaments as part of a wedding gift I am less certain, but the evidence suggests that they are pledges. They are objects of great magical power, the mere possession of which is thought to demonstrate that their owner adheres to moral principles. The gift of such objects to another party demonstrates that the donor possesses such moral objects, pledges that he will show propriety in his behaviour towards the recipient and enjoins the recipient to do the same for him.

In combination, the *dorobu* gifts convey a clear and appropriate message: the wife-taker acknowledges his indebtedness, emphasises that by taking a woman in marriage he conveys a great blessing upon her and makes pledges which ideally are binding on both parties. Acceptance of these gifts need imply no more than that the wife-givers acquiesce in the *status quo* (which has been established by abduction or elopement). Until the affines make counter gifts, *dorobu* does not even establish social relations between the two sides. This does not happen until the bridegroom's sister has bred and given a pig to him and until the bride's mother has bred and given a pig to her son-in-law. It is only then that a limited commensality between the two sides is established: they have a meal together at which the *imbohi* pretends to eat.

The continuing avoidances and dangers characteristic of Orokaiva affinal relations are all of a kind very familiar in other parts of the world, but the less usual feature is that joking relations, coldness and deliberate social distance can be terminated by the cancellation of the debt through exchange marriage. The strife of 'ordinary' affinal relations is seen as part of a longer cycle which stretches from the sister exchange marriage established as ideal by the ancestors to exchange marriages that remain present as a constant possibility.

9. *Application of the Model to Clan Formation*

The model of marriage exchange as presented here envisages the permanent cyclical recurrence, in the history of any given social group, of restricted and generalised exchange, or – as one might say – of a state of matrimonial amity and strife, unity and division. This model is given additional credibility if we consider some Orokaiva theories about social relations and if we consider the processes of clan formation.

On social philosophy only a very brief reference is appropriate here. The Orokaiva believe that due to actions of their primal ancestors, men are in permanent strife with one another and for that reason dwell apart in separate villages. They express this belief quite explicitly when explaining some of their own myths. I have described above (Chapter III) an Orokaiva myth on the origin

434 was in recognition of kinship obligations including bride price
[583] and gifts while 49 per cent of income was derived from these
[431] sources.
[525]

Gambling does not appear to be common within the village but intervillage visits are not infrequently arranged for this purpose. Few men in the sample claimed any significant winnings or losses for the year but during our stay some men, in one evening's gambling, lost $22 to members of another village who had already won $10 from them in 1962.

454 Nine of the 12 householders were holding personal savings at the time of our survey; in 3 instances where men had formerly been wage-earners for some time they had opened Savings Bank accounts which they retained.

A son's wife living with 1 householder had received some money from her kinsmen and some from her husband who was absent in employment. The money had been banked but was not recorded in our survey.

Apart from $60 in savings certificates maturing in 1966 which are contributions to joint accounts (see Appendix B), the ratio of current savings ($10 per household) to annual income is 1:2.7. Savings had decreased by 40 per cent during 1962 but income also seems to have been considerably higher in the previous year.

In a sample of 13 men from a nearby area in 1951 Belshaw (1951:12) found that only slight withdrawals had been made from pass books issued about 2 years earlier under the War Damage Compensation scheme; almost no deposits had been made. The average account had a balance of £4 with a range from £1.17s. to £8.1s. The same people claimed to hold other cash in hand ranging
[731] from nil to £39 with an average of just under £10. A small part of this may have been cash payments made under the scheme. Refugees from the Mt Lamington eruption received other payments later from a relief fund. We could obtain no reliable information to account for any money received by members of our sample on either occasion.

436 The evidence is slight but a comparison of the 2 small samples suggests the possibility that with an increase over 10 years in the range of sources of income and in consumer demand, money is now circulating more freely in the area.

[301] Shell and bone ornaments (hambo) and head-dresses (di) - made
[23] from feathers of the bird-of-paradise, mountain parrots, hornbills
[32] and cassowaries - known collectively as di hambo, are held by the
[555] people of Sivepo as a category of wealth, items in ceremonial presentations and as objects of display. In traditional Orokaiva society these are prestige tokens but seem never to have served as

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 80]

A, [See Category 454, pp. 107-108--Analyst]

436 a standard of value. However, to some extent money seems to have [555] taken over some of the functions of traditional valuables and in some situations one is exchanged for the other. In the past it [301] was recognized that skill and initiative in hunting and trading [237] were necessary to acquire di hambo but today, with safer communi- [321] cations and better hunting equipment, they are more easily obtained. People are willing to buy some of the more valuable items or some [439] cheaper items of European manufacture which can be adapted to serve as a novel decoration.

Although they constituted the greater part of the goods changing [428] hands on traditional ceremonial occasions, di hambo are evidently not now circulating rapidly. A little less than half of these valuables held by members of the sample had been inherited and nearly a quarter had been acquired by the owner by hunting or collecting.

A complete adjustment between the roles of money and of non-monetary valuables has not yet been made. They circulate in the same exchanges and both are considered essential; it may now be [583] accepted practice that each should be contributed by or distributed amongst different categories of kin on these occasions.[1] But the opinion was widely expressed that as people are increasingly demanding cash as a large part of bride price payments, the intrinsic value of these exchanges was correspondingly less.

435 Although money and traditional valuables are not freely interchangeable, we collected details of the prices paid for any items of di hambo which had been purchased by the sample,[2] and by using these in conjunction with the unitary scale of value on which informants could readily place all items, we assessed the possible cash equivalent of non-monetary valuables acquired by the 12 households from various sources. This is set out in Table 8.

Table 8

Cash value and acquisition of hambo and di
($)

	Inherited	Purchased	Bride price or other exchange	Made or bought	Total
Hambo	48.40	9.30	17.70	16.60	92.00
Di	17.60	4.50	6.50	15.40	44.00
Total	66.00	13.80	24.20	32.00	136.00

1 See Crocombe and Hogbin 1963:52.

2 These prices were very nearly the same as those recorded at Inonda (Crocombe and Hogbin 1963: Appendix B).

Company already operates a trade store with a liquor licence close to the village.

(c) Other household property

The inventory of property held by the eleven households was divided into 'non-traditional property' and 'property derived from the subsistence sector' (see Tables 4:6 and 4:7). These inventories reveal that, among non-traditional goods, the only items held by nine or more households are axes, bush knives, petos (for cutting grass), blankets, towels, suitcases etc., various outer garments, and mirrors. Clay pots, tapa cloths, combs, lime gourds and string bags are the main items of property derived from the subsistence sector. In addition, all households possess sleeping-mats either made locally from pandanus leaves or bought in a store. Although eight of the households possess hurricane lamps, they seldom have kerosene. Many of the tools were obtained during the second world war or distributed by the Administration after the eruption of Mt Lamington so that the people could re-establish their gardens.

Table 4:7

Sivepe: household property derived from the subsistence sector, November 1964

Household no.	1	2	3	5	6	9	10	11	13	14	15
Tools											
Hunting net	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Wooden trough*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Household											
Clay pot	2	2	-	1	-	3	6	1	2	2	2
Gourd (water)	-	-	-	-	-	-	9	-	-	-	-
Personal											
Sleeping-mat	2	3	1	1	1	2	-	-	-	4	2
Tapa cloth	1	4	2	2	1	-	12	5	4	8	1
Comb	2	2	-	1	-	1	2	1	1	2	2
Bamboo pipe	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	2	1
Lime gourd	2	2	-	2	-	1	2	1	2	3	4
String bag	3	11	3	4	-	4	6	8	10	5	2
Drum	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	1	-	2
Di and hambo**	-	20	10	9	-	5	2	6	9	-	18

* For fermenting coffee.

** Di are ornaments made from feathers and beaks of birds; hambo are shell ornaments. Items made from trade store beads or scrap metal, etc. are excluded.

£2.90 by 16 relatives of the host's eldest daughter's husband (the one who had not been able to pay bride-wealth at the time of his marriage).[1] The latter 16 relatives came from four different villages. All but one of the total of 64 contributors of cash came from villages other than Inonda.

Contributors came from eight different localities within a range of 16 miles. There were also approximately 70 other adults who attended but did not eat or contribute. Some were from this village but the majority came from other villages in the vicinity. There were also some 30 or so children present who were not included above.

The majority of the persons present attended because of their residence in neighbouring communities and claimed no kinship links with the hosts. In earlier times, informants say, it would have been unusual for persons to attend a feast unless they were linked to the hosts by ties of kinship, marriage, or residence in the same village. Moreover, they claim, even in pre-war days it was unusual for persons from so far afield to attend a relatively small personal feast. Cash payment, it appears, is becoming an acceptable substitute for kinship links as a qualification to attend certain ceremonies.

Transfers of property at this feast differed markedly from those in feasts of the traditional type. Firstly, the food was contributed by a more restricted group, and was consumed not by all, but only by those who paid. Secondly, cash was given in place of traditional valuables (feather head-dresses, shells, arm-bands, necklaces, etc.); and thirdly, there was no reciprocal exchange for the whole of the cash was retained by the host who apparently does not acknowledge any obligation to give reciprocal help to those who brought cash, though he does recognize such an obligation to those who brought food.

In this village many of the older people wear only loin cloths made of tapa, but at the feast all but four men wore imported clothing. The four who did not were older men who remained in the shadows. A few men wore cotton lap-laps, but the majority wore short trousers. All but three wore shirts - an item of clothing that is rarely seen in the village. Quite a number wore plastic sandals, though the majority were barefooted. All the women wore cotton skirts and blouses, though in their daily work an in festivals of the traditional type they almost never wear any garment above the waist. Four young men were daubed with face powder and one wore a spring of leaves in his hair. There were no other personal adornments. At taro festivals today, and at marriages, funerals and

[1] See p.74.

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Bride and groom outside the organiser's house on the morning of the first day of the bride-wealth exchange

[516]

Transferring the cash

[p. 80]

583 and leaves which irritates the skin. This was accompanied by general merriment. It was said to be a tradition, though the people gave no explanation of its significance. The women chattered together while they prepared and cooked taro, and most men sat in the shade-house chewing betel and talking. The groom and the organizer collected firewood and erected a temporary [292] shelter of coconut fronds adjacent to the shade-house. From [302] 9.30 a.m. to 10.30 a.m. some of the groom's close female kin dressed the bride, decorating her with traditional ornaments, fastening a bark-cloth sarong around her and spraying her hair with fresh coconut oil. The groom's supporters expected the bride's father and his party to arrive at Hohota at midday. When they did not, the waiting group became restless.

The bride's father had summoned the people who were to share the bride-wealth to his house to discuss the attitude they would adopt towards the contributing party when the two groups met at Hohota. They decided to irritate the groom's supporters by [292] delaying and did not arrive until 3.00 p.m. As they approached the organizer's house, a man dressed in bark-cloth and ornaments and carrying a spear emerged from amongst them. A similarly attired man advanced from the organizer's party, who rose to their feet. The two men faced each other about thirty yards apart and, brandishing their spears, repeatedly rushed at each other and retreated for approximately five minutes.[1] During this time the bride's father's party moved quietly towards the organizer's house and the two groups sat on the ground outside.

[292] Apart from the bride and the two men carrying spears, people [301] wore normal clothing, although some had armbands and necklaces which may have been specially donned for the occasion.

The bride's father, who remained standing, asked whether the bride-wealth was ready. The organizer replied that it would not be ready until the bride's father sat down. This clearly offended him and tension quickly mounted in both groups. An argument broke out and climaxed when two of the groom's supporters accused the bride's father of setting an unreasonably high price and of lacking generosity by refusing to reduce it when the groom's father died. Thoroughly aroused, the bride's father shouted that he would not accept the payment, that he would take his daughter and in high dudgeon stalked off. The bride's brother supported him by returning $3.00 which had been given as part of the kina. Three people who each contributed $2.00 to the main payment withdrew the money during the dispute.

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[1] Williams (1930:141) notes that a similar manoeuvre, asu, which involved many supporters of bride and groom, was 'highly characteristic' of bride-wealth transfers in the 1920s.

APPENDIX B

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Non-monetary valuables

Ornaments (hambo)

in descending order of value(1)

Ornaments	Where worn	Description	Assessed cash value
Daremo	Forehead	Made of red sea-shell	£3 each
Dambariso	Forehead	As above but having different design	£2
Hoave	Single held in teeth, double hangs on chest	Made of large white seashells	£1
Bati	Neck	Made of dogs' teeth	10/-
Gajina	Arm	Made of trochus shell	10/-
Bagi (ajawa)	Neck and hangs on chest	Made of trochus shell	10/-
Ganda	Held in teeth	Made of several young pigs' tusks	5/-

(1) Several villagers were asked separately to rank hambo and di in descending order of value. There was agreement on most items and minor discrepancies were eliminated by discussion with the elders.

Ornament	Where worn	Description	Assessed cash value
Parasi	Neck and hangs on chest	Made of brass from army dump or from tooth brush handle	5/-
Hono	Held in teeth and hangs on chest	Made of two large pigs' tusks	5/-
Poino (saima)	Head	Made of white sea-shells	5/-
Perere (keri)	Neck	White seashells	4/-
Hau (kuri)	Neck and hangs on chest	Large seashell beads	4/-
Sipe	Neck and sides	Made of silvery sea-shells	4/-
Simba	Head	Seashells	4/-
Ori	Neck	Seashells	4/-
Jaja	Head	Seashells	4/-
Matajo	Belt	Made of string and seashells	2/-
Sara	Head	Seashells	2/-
Erumo	Hangs from shoulder	Made of several sea-shells	2/-
Paho	Held in teeth	Large seashells	2/-
Hura	Forehead	Seashells	2/-
Sapi	Neck	Unknown	2/-
Sameme	Arm	Arm band made of trochus shell	2/-

Feather head-dresses (di) in descending order of value

Samba (rokou)	Head	Bird of Paradise feathers	10/-

19: Schwimmer E-5 (1966-1970) 1979 OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

III

The above outline of the glories of *hande* and the pains of *tihanga* present a model remarkably like Sahlins's 'balanced exchange', but drawn from what one might call Orokaiva ethnosociology. This Orokaiva model is, however, no more than a first lesson in reciprocity. My informants, immediately after telling and explaining the Javaite Poromo tale, proceeded to a second lesson on what they considered a slightly more advanced level. This was prefaced by: 'I should like to tell you why we tell the story of Javaite Poromo'. It soon turned into the recounting of another myth, complete with commentaries and explanations.

A handsome young man came to a village, married a girl but instead of taking her to a village, he took her deeper and deeper into the bush. It turned out that he was, in fact, a pig who had merely disguised himself as a man for the visit to the village. They lived in the bush where she had a son from him who was a white cockatoo (*agena*). As the pig, together with his friends, now wished to kill the woman, she took refuge, with her son, on a *peromba* tree. When the pigs proceeded to try and uproot the *peromba* tree the mother sent her son to her native village with a message. When he returned, the pigs had almost uprooted the tree, but they fled safely, the mother in the son's beak. As they arrived, the mother warned her kinsmen to expect the pig shortly.

When the pig arrives, he is fully and impressively decorated as before—the tale mentions specifically his fine tapa cloth, his *ganda*, his pineapple club, his headdress of red cockatoo feathers, his shield. The kinsmen convey him to a platform with ceremonial greetings appropriate to a visiting affine, fall upon him with spears, cut him into small pieces and eat him.

The commentary given by informants briefly shows the link between this tale and the question of reciprocity. It was by the killing of the pig, informants said, that the present relationship between pig and man was at last established—they kill us; we kill them; they are given to the land for us to eat. This is in contrast with relations between men, based on mutual visits and friendship. This contrast between pig/man and man/man relationships is not in the body of the text, but its relevance was pointed out to me by the two informants.

It will be fully clear to any initiated Orokaiva why this tale explains the principle of reciprocity. It is also probably quite clear to any trained anthropologist. I think, however, that I am obliged to offer a translation into western jargon. The tale is not for children but, it is implied, for initiated men, i.e. those who have a knowledge of spirits. Uninitiated people think that the strange decorated figures one sees at certain ceremonials are spirits, because they have the plumes of birds, the paint of the dead and the bone and shell ornaments of the ancestors. This is not so; these figures are all men disguised as spirits and ancestors. These disguises ought to be so perfect that the person beneath them is not recognisable. In any case, if anyone recognises them, it would be very rude to make this known. They must be respected in every way as though they were the ancestors they represent. The initiated, however, know that the living man and the ancestor are both present in the decorated man.

19: Schwimmer E-5 (1966-1970) 1979 OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

Now who were these ancestors? They were all human but at the same time they might inhabit the body of an animal or borrow some of an animal's bodily characteristics. Such a tendency would go with a very particular affinity with the animal in question, a partaking in its powers. Many stories are therefore told of ancestors with such affinities. As for pig stories, the most famous is that of Totoima, a man who on occasion wore pigs' tusks and then was murderous in the extreme. When he was finally killed, his body was cut into many pieces and the men who ate from it multiplied miraculously and became the ancestors of great tribes. Another story, of which only a very incomplete version survives today,[6] concerns a 'pig-man' who had assumed the body of a pig but was really a man. Men built a house for him and gave him taro for which he gave them real pigs in exchange. Men broke off this exchange, however, and since then men and pigs have not made exchanges. Nonetheless, he is remembered as a great man as he set up the practice of exchanging and was the first to provide men with pigmeat, thus making them strong.

In this time of the ancestors, men and animals exchanged and communicated with each other without restriction. Yet at a certain moment, a strict division began to be made between those with whom one can make exchanges and those who must be regarded as outside exchange. Unless there are such clear limits to exchange, men would never be safe. This is what we learn from the tale quoted above, the subject of which is, as one might say, *The Pig with the Ganda*. Now, as the story is told, this was not a man in the guise of a pig, but it was really a pig. When he came to a village, he changed the various parts of his body into the ornaments that men use even today for ceremonial dress. His bristles changed into the feathers of the red cockatoo, his jaws and teeth changed into the ornament called *ganda*, normally made by men from pigs' tusks and dogs' teeth and held between the teeth when men dance. It was in that guise he could seduce women (see fig. 1).

He changed himself, so to speak, from a real pig into a symbolic pig and was thus indistinguishable from a man who would likewise change himself into a symbolic pig.

It is the case that whenever great exchanges are made between men, they all wear the decorations and disguises given to them by their ancestors. This is necessary because today, men are always at war and harmony between men existed only in the days of the ancestors. During feasts men therefore recreate the world of the ancestors which was the only world of peace. But the pig with the *ganda* must be excluded from such feasts. There must be separation and thus confinement of the world of exchange.

I have given this reconstruction informally, instead of deriving it systematically from the many texts on which it is based. It exemplifies the type of religious discourse which enters into any serious explanations offered by Orokaiva. What it explains, in effect, is 'negative reciprocity', the state of permanent war that exists outside the confined universe of ceremonial exchange. This certainly includes the war between man and nature, but most probably it includes more than that. It is worth remembering that Orokaiva describe the mountain tribes with whom they refuse to make exchanges as

19: Schwimmer E-5 (1966-1970) 1979 OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

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FIGURE 1. *Ganda*, Northern Province of Papua New Guinea (author's collection).

pereho, meaning bush pigs, a term they used so frequently that the first whites who tried to make ethnographic maps of the Northern District tried to find the exact location of the 'tribe' Orokaiva called the '*pereho*'. It was hard to put on the map, as the *pereho* category included quite different groups according to who was speaking. My concern was here to give the conceptual boundaries of the exchange universe in Orokaiva terms, but there are real geographical boundaries, different for each village, which correspond to such concepts. Williams (1930) already spoke of two systems of Orokaiva morality, one within the 'sympathy group' which is his term for the exchange universe, and another where there is, in principle, a permanent state of total war even though there will always be a few islands where trading partnerships are found.

IV

If semiotic analysis has no difficulty in revealing categories of balanced and negative reciprocity, what about Sahlins's most fruitful and original category, generalised exchange? It is possible to find a category of relations among Orokaiva where it is denied that any *tihanga* is ever recognised. There are plenty of gifts, but no gift would ever be explained as *mine* or *hande mine*. I doubt however whether that particular category corresponds to 'generalised reciprocity'.

It includes, first of all, *hande* on a very small scale, like a single coconut, areca